

FRANCE

DRAWER 13

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

71.2009 085 08534



Abraham Lincoln and Foreign Countries

France

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

HEADQUARTERS
CAMP "PRESIDENT LINCOLN"
BASE SECTION #5, APO 716.

April 5, 1919.

MEMORANDUM:

The Countess De Rodelee Du Porzec has requested that an invitation be extended to all officers of the Command to attend a reception she is giving them at the Chateau Sunday afternoon, April 6th, at 3:30 P.M.

The Countess also extends to them the privilege of inviting any of their American Lady friends, but reserves the right to name her own French guests.

By order of Colonel McCornack:

W. S. McWHORTER
CAPTAIN, Q.M.C.
ADJUTANT.

file
Lincoln Library & Museum

**THE LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE
INSURANCE COMPANY**

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

Return to
V

HOME OFFICE
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

TO Mr. Allen Steere

DATE June 6, 1963 *Wong*

SUBJECT Allen:

I find very little in our Lincoln library indicating that Abraham Lincoln is highly revered by the French during this present century.

This was not true during the Civil War. (See Xerox material from Monaghan's book "Diplomat in Carpet Slippers".) France was then struggling under Napoleon III and many politicians and statesmen opposed his Imperialistic Government. The fervent advocates of democracy studied the practical working of Lincoln in particular and the executive power in the United States in general. While they were fearful of the immense prerogatives of the President they felt they were counter-balanced by the rights of the states.

The historical Lincoln literature of France is also declining. The first French publication on Lincoln appeared in 1860. As late as 1939 there were forty French Lincoln books. Since 1939 only two Lincoln books in French have been published.

Off hand I can find no eulogy of Lincoln delivered by a modern French statesman.

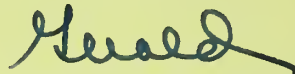
In 1939 the USIS published several pamphlets in French for distribution in France. So far as I know these had ready acceptance. In 1959 Dr. Roy P. Basler, Lincoln authority spent a part of a 10 week tour of Europe lecturing on Lincoln in France. He reported enthusiastic audiences.

At "Freedom Day" ceremonies in New York City on July 4th, 1959, commemorating the 75th Anniversary of the gift of the Statue of Liberty by the people of France to the United States, a bronze Volk bust of Abraham Lincoln was presented by the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission to the people of France. Walter Rathschild made the presentation and the bust was accepted by the Honorable Raymond LaParte, Counsel General of France. Through the courtesy of the French Embassy the bust was placed on temporary exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution.

Mr. Allen Steere
Page Two
June 6, 1963

It is my personal belief that the people of France admire the Sixteenth President, however, they have not seen fit to express this sentiment in a vocal manner, in statuary or in publications during this century.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Gerald', with a stylized, flowing script.

R. Gerald McMurtry

RGM:ha

gized the assassinated President. "There are circumstances connected with this crime which, I think, aggravate its atrocity," he said. "President Lincoln was a man who, though not conspicuous before his election, had since displayed a character of so much integrity, so much sincerity and straightforwardness, and at the same time of so much kindness, that if any one was able to alleviate the pain and animosities which prevailed during the period of civil war, I believe that Abraham Lincoln was that person."¹⁷

Mrs. Lincoln, still ill from the shock of her husband's murder, replied to the Queen shortly before she left the White House. The following letter was written inside mourning borders.

"Washington
"May 21st 1865.

"Madam

"I have received the letter, which Your Majesty, has had the kindness to write & am deeply grateful for its expressions of tender sympathy, coming as they do, from a heart which from its own sorrow, can appreciate the intense grief, I now endure. Accept, Madam, the assurance of my heartfelt thanks, & believe me in the deepest sorrow, Your Majesty's sincere & grateful friend

"Mary Lincoln."¹⁸

Victoria's next gesture made some Midwest Americans guffaw. A subscription was circulated for a great monument over the dead President's tomb. Queen Victoria contributed a tuft of down that had fallen from one of her swans—a bit of fluff that could be found under the roost of any henhouse in Lincoln's cornlands. Her intentions were no doubt sentimental and sincere.

Napoleon accepted both the Union victory and the assassination as he would a dark horse at the races. He wrote a dutiful letter of sympathy to the American government. Empress Eugénie wrote Mrs. Lincoln a formal condolence. With female intuition Her Majesty seemed to sense impending danger to her regal way of life. Over at the American legation a crowd gathered. Bigelow went to the window. He counted sixteen policemen holding back riotous young men, eager, insistent, jostling each other for an opportunity to enter and weep in the legation parlors. "I had no idea that Mr. Lincoln had such a hold upon the heart of the young gentlemen of

France," he wrote, "or that his loss would be so properly appreciated."¹⁹ The French Academy offered a prize for the best poem on the death of the President and awarded it to Edouard Grenier.²⁰ Lodges of the Masonic Order, an organization beyond the control of the Emperor, sent scores of sympathetic resolutions to Mrs. Lincoln. Prosper Mérimée, venerable French senator and supporter of Napoleon, threw up his old hands in disgust. In his youthful travels he had met a certain Spanish grandee whose wife told him the story of *Carmen* and whose four-year-old daughter—*la petite Eugénie*—won his heart for life. Years later Mérimée introduced her to Parisian society and had the pleasure of seeing her marry the Emperor. The excitement over Lincoln's death, said the *ancien littérateur*, was uncalled for. The dead President at best was only "*un first second rate man*."²¹

The French author's opinion had no effect on the French people. In Lyon twenty-five thousand workmen subscribed sums as low as ten centimes each and employed their most skilled artisans to weave a flag for the United States. "The subscriptions of merchants or people belonging to the higher classes have not been solicited," read the note of presentation from the democrats of France to democratic America. As never before in history, America was looked upon as the mainstay of all that was liberal and progressive in Europe.²² Dictators, political adventurers and gamblers who had put themselves in high places by intrigue and cabal felt the ground tremble beneath their feet. Socialists and French *républicains* started a new movement. This time they proposed a general subscription of one sou from each poor child in France for a gold medal to be presented to Mrs. Lincoln. Napoleon ordered the police to stop the collection. It was completed in secret, and goldsmiths in Switzerland cast the medal where Napoleon could not interfere. On the face was inscribed:

"LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY

"To Lincoln, twice chosen President of the United States. From the grateful Democracy of France. Lincoln the Honest abolished slavery, reestablished the Union, saved the republic, without veiling the statue of Liberty. He was assassinated the 14th April, 1865."

The medal was given to John Bigelow to be sent in his dispatch bag to the State Department, and thence to Mrs. Lincoln. A letter of transmittal accompanying the medal expressed the feelings of forty thousand "*Citoyens Français désireux de manifester leurs sympathies pour l'Union Américaine.*"²³ In part they said:

"If France had the freedom enjoyed by republican America, not thousands, but millions among us would have been counted as admirers of Lincoln, and believers in the opinions for which he devoted his life, and which his death has consecrated."²⁴

Conspicuous among the committeemen who signed this letter were Louis Blanc, the socialist, and Victor Hugo, the radical novelist still in exile on the island of Guernsey.

The day of reckoning came in 1867. That year Emperor Maximilian and Miramón were executed by the Mexican republicans. In England the franchise was extended to a majority of the male citizens. Oddly enough, both incidents were salted with irony. The Tories put through the franchise bill. Gladstone championed it and in the years that followed devoted some of his liberal time apologizing for the escape of the *Alabama*, promising reimbursement and making the rafters ring with his pronouncement that the American Constitution was the most perfect document ever struck off by the hand of man. Equally inconsistent, hundreds of Confederate veterans, unwilling to remain in a democracy, marched south to help Maximilian hold his tottering throne. At the Rio Grande they sold their arms to democratic Juárez and used the money for transportation to the Emperor's court. Maximilian accepted some of them in his army. Others he assigned to a tract of land—a colony, but not the duchy Gwin had suggested.

The year 1867 brought anguish, too, for Empress Eugénie. Carlotta, back in France before her husband's death, begged and wept until her mind gave way. Eugénie was powerless to help her. Seward had a million veterans eager to march into Mexico. He ordered Napoleon to withdraw his army, to quit meddling in American continental affairs. What could Napoleon do? The French army sailed away and a World's Fair opened in Paris—banners, bands, balls and barbecues. Eugénie looked ghastly in

the dazzling lights. Suave courtiers at the Fair presented her with an elaborate aluminum fan—a "Lincoln fan" it was called by the donors, who were suspected of Latin subtlety.

The tide of liberalism engulfed France within three years. The Third Republic was established. In Germany Bismarck saw the tide coming. To buffet the wave he allied his militarists with the German liberals and led his country into its greatest period of cultural advancement. Censorship was abolished by the Imperial Press Act. A new municipal system allowed unprecedented democracy. German universities became the leaders of the world. The liberal wave, with Lincoln's image on the crest, passed on around the globe. Lincoln biographies formed part of the revolutionary technique in Russia, Turkey and China. Japan adopted a constitution cut to a European pattern and then printed half a dozen *Lives* of Lincoln. Writers in thirty languages told all downtrodden people about the wood chopper who became President, the plain man in carpet slippers who saved democracy "without veiling the statue of Liberty." Walt Whitman spoke for oppressed people everywhere when he hailed the dead President, "O comrade lustrous with silver face in the night."



Lincoln Lore

January, 1977

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1667

Abraham Lincoln and the Adams Family Myth

Editor's Note: Valuable help in preparing this issue was provided by Dr. Patrick J. Owens, a recent graduate of the University of Notre Dame's history department and a John Quincy Adams scholar. He checked the references to the meeting in the Adams Papers. The Massachusetts Historical Society provided information on the location of microfilm copies of the Adams Papers. The portraits on page 3 are courtesy of the Adams National Historic Site and reproduced from *The Dictionary of American Portraits* (Dover Publications, Inc., 1967). The rest of the photographs are from the files of the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

Viewers of educational television's "Adams Chronicles" have been afforded a rare example of packing as much history into a popular dramatic series as the dramatic structure can bear. Short of having a man standing in front of a blackboard, the old "sunrise semester" format that educational television is trying to get away from, this may well be as much history as one can get from television. The medium makes severe demands on its message; of history, it demands narrative drive and dramatic impact. There is no latitude for a leisurely or painstaking discussion of the merits of various kinds of evidence; the show must go on.

Lincoln students furrowed their brows and shifted uneasily in their chairs during one of the more powerful scenes in the series. Charles Francis Adams, grandson of one President and son of another, had come to Washington to receive his instructions for his mission to England as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Secretary of State William Seward took him to meet the new President; it would be the only meeting between the Ambassador and Abraham Lincoln. Adams, at his articulately deferential and

solemnly statesmanlike best, thanked the President and expressed his hopes to be able to live up to his important and difficult mission. Lincoln said nothing of the mission and, insultingly, told Adams that he was Seward's man, not Lincoln's, and owed his thanks to the Secretary of State. Lincoln then sat down at his desk, leaned back in his chair, clasped his hands behind his head, and informed Seward that he had just settled the appointment for the Chicago post office! An awkward moment followed, and Lincoln asked whether there was anything else they wanted. With that, the meeting ended.

The great hope of the third Adams political generation thus encountered the new force in American politics, the man of the

people, the man of no breeding. The scene is set for the denouement of the Adams family story: unable or unwilling to play the game of politics by the new rules of mass democracy, the family will be spurned by the America it expects to serve. The logic of Henry Adams's disgust with "Grantism" in politics in the next generation flows naturally from this image; for the Lincolns and Grants of this political world there are no statesmen, only office-seekers.

The makers of the "Adams Chronicles" were not taking license with the written sources; in fact, they followed their source scrupulously. The source is Charles Francis Adams, Junior's biography of his father, *Charles Francis Adams* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1900). The account is worth quoting at length:

Mr. Adams made at the time his own diary record of the single official interview he was ever destined to have with President Lincoln. His half-amused, half-mortified, alto-

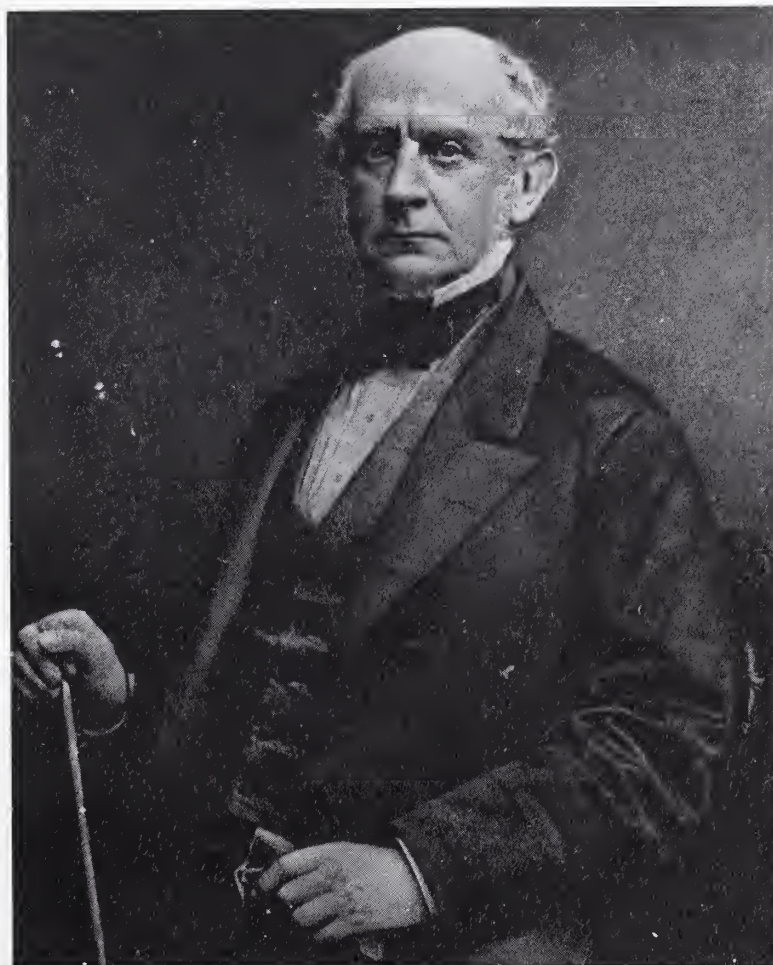


FIGURE 1. Charles Francis Adams (1807-1886), the son of John Quincy Adams, spent most of his childhood in Europe and attended English schools for two years. His greatest diplomatic triumph was his prevention of the sale of the Laird rams to the Confederacy.



FIGURE 2. William L. Dayton (1807-1864) was Lincoln's first choice for ambassador to England. He served as ambassador to France until his death in 1864.

gether shocked description of it, given contemporaneously to members of his family was far more graphic. He had been summoned to Washington by the secretary of state to receive his verbal instructions. The country was in the midst of the most dangerous crisis in its history; a crisis in which the action of foreign governments, especially of England, might well be decisive of results. The policy to be pursued was under consideration. It was a grave topic, worthy of thoughtful consideration. Deeply impressed with the responsibility devolved upon him, Mr. Adams went with the new secretary to the State Department, whence, at the suggestion of the latter, they presently walked over to the White House, and were ushered into the room which more than thirty years before Mr. Adams associated most closely with his father, and his father's trained bearing and methodical habits. Presently a door opened, and a tall, large-featured, shabbily dressed man, of uncouth appearance, slouched into the room. His much-kneed, ill-fitting trousers, coarse stockings, and worn slippers at once caught the eye. He seemed generally ill at ease, — in manner, constrained and shy. The secretary introduced the minister to the President, and the appointee of the last proceeded to make the usual conventional remarks, expressive of obligation, and his hope that the confidence implied in the appointment he had received might not prove to have been misplaced. They had all by this time taken chairs; and the tall man listened in silent abstraction. When Mr. Adams had finished, — and he did not take long, — the tall man remarked in an indifferent, careless way that the appointment in question had not been his, but was due to the secre-

tary of state, and that it was to "Governor Seward" rather than to himself that Mr. Adams should express any sense of obligation he might feel; then, stretching out his long legs before him, he said, with an air of great relief as he swung his long arms to his head: — "Well, governor, I've this morning decided that Chicago post-office appointment." Mr. Adams and the nation's foreign policy were dismissed together! Not another reference was made to them. Mr. Lincoln seemed to think that the occasion called for nothing further; as to Mr. Adams, it was a good while before he recovered from his dismay; — he never recovered from his astonishment, nor did the impression then made ever wholly fade from his mind.

Although there were some small differences in detail in the televised version, the "Chronicles" followed the account closely and rendered its spirit nicely enough.

The problem lies in the necessity of simplification for the sake of dramatic impact. Leaving aside the invitation in Charles, Junior's account to compare Charles, Senior's original diary entry with the family tradition, one can say that there are other published sources of information written by members of the Adams family which suggest that the nature of the meeting was somewhat different from the televised version. The most obvious of these lies in Henry Adams's famous autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams*. Henry was the Ambassador's son too, and he accompanied his father to England as his private secretary. He points out that his father's principal aide, also a political appointee, was useless: "As Secretary of Legation the Executive appointed the editor of a Chicago newspaper who had applied for the Chicago Post-Office; a good fellow, universally known as Charley Wilson, who had not a thought of staying in the post, or of helping the Minister." Much of the succeeding episode in the "Chronicles" was based on *The Education*; yet there was no attempt to pursue this obvious lead. Clearly, the Chicago post office was not something that was totally unrelated to the Adams mission; an applicant for that office was being sent instead to England. Was Lincoln's mention of the Chicago post office a gratuitous slur on Mr. Adams's high office; was it the low preoccupation of a petty politician from the West?

The evidence in Charles Francis Adams's diary seems conclusive. This is the entry for March 28, 1861; Seward was discussing the state of affairs with the new administration after suggesting that they go to see the President without a scheduled appointment:

Not very encouraging I thought. He [Seward] spoke of the President kindly and as coming gradually right, whilst he exposed to me without comment or censure a picture of his own situation — much absorption in the details of office dispensation, but little application to great ideas. The Cabinet without unity, and without confidence in the head or in each other. I must say I can now foresee but one result. He spoke of my appointment as his victory, whilst he made a species of apology for the selection of Mr. Wilson which seemed to me a little lame. Failing to carry his nomination for the post office at Chicago, the President by way of compensation flung him the place of secretary of legation of which the man was innocent of all wish. Mr. Seward could raise no objection to his own friend. I replied that I had no objection to the choice, upon the assurance that he was unobjectionable, which he gave me. After breakfast he proposed to me to go the President's to acknowledge my appointment which I did. We found ourselves in the Cabinet with only Mr. Arnold, the member of the Chicago District of Illinois there. He was evidently grieving at the President's taking out of his hands the choice of the Postmaster of Chicago, and appointing a person he did not like. Soon the President came in. He shook hands with me and said something complimentary, I briefly thanked him for the honor conferred upon me, and expressed the hope not to discredit his selection. In the matter of that, said he, I have no great claim on you, for the selection was mainly Governor Seward's. I replied, admitting my consciousness of the fact, but that without his assent, the act could not have been done. The President then turned to the main idea and announced his decision in the Chicago case. He was about to go on to talk with Governor Seward on other topics without minding me, when the latter gave me a hint, and I respectfully took my leave. Such was his fashion of receiving and



FIGURE 3. The sons of Charles Francis Adams, Charles at top, Henry in the middle, and Brooks at the bottom.

dismissing the incumbent of one of the two highest posts in the foreign service of the country! I left the presence cheerfully enough, and congratulated myself that the task of being in his council had not been laid upon me.

Within the same rough parameters of truth, what a very different image of the meeting this entry presents!

The Chicago post office was not only germane to the conversation, Seward and Adams had themselves been discussing it just before going to meet the President. Lincoln, thinking always in terms of a very young party's unity, had wanted to give the ambassadorships of England and France to William L. Dayton and John C. Frémont, who had been the Republican nominees for Vice-President and President in 1856. Seward had preferred Adams for England, because Adams had been a major supporter of Seward's conservative policies in the secession crisis and, before that, of Seward's nomination for the Presidency in 1860. Moreover, he had no love for Frémont. Lincoln yielded, but when Seward sought to press Charles L. Wilson's appointment for Chicago, he ran afoul of Lincoln's strong obligation to John Locke Scripps, editor of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, who had prepared a campaign biography of the President in the summer of 1860. Scripps got the Chicago post office, and Lincoln did his best to mollify Seward by giving Wilson the secretaryship in the English legation. Thus the Chicago post office was a subject of interest to Seward, Lincoln, and Adams. In fact, since Isaac Arnold of Chicago was also present, it was about the only interest that everyone present had in common.

For Adams, the nature of the conversation was insulting enough anyhow. Surely a mitigating circumstance, however, was the fact that their meeting was not a formal one — that Seward and Adams came unannounced. Moreover, Arnold was already waiting to see the President when they came in, and, if his presence had already been announced, it was no wonder the Chicago post office was the first subject which came to mind after he had "said something complimentary" to the distinguished representative of the Adams dynasty.

Why, over the years, did the Adams family's version of the story change? Why did Isaac Arnold disappear from the scene altogether, so that the men-

tion of the post office became a gross equation of the highest diplomatic post with a miserable and petty patronage plum? The answer lies in the interests and needs of the storytellers, and a clue lies ready at hand, again, in the famous *Education of Henry Adams*. Describing his feeling of "ridiculous" inadequacy to be the private secretary to his father in London, Adams could recall that he was comforted only by the knowledge that he "was not a vulture of carrion — patronage."

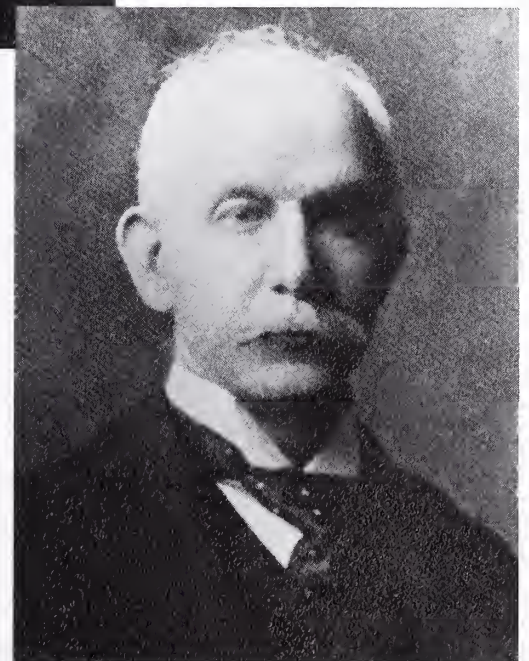
The Adams family had a long tradition of political aloofness, despite their ability to play the game with skill. In the Presidency of John Adams, the Sedition Act squinted towards the elimination of any legitimate party opposition. Yet Adams himself came nearer than many of his Federalist cohorts to accepting party as a necessary evil, and his rival Jefferson was almost as willing to see critical newspapers prosecuted by government (as long as it was a state and not the federal government) as Adams was. The spirit of the times in the early republic was hostile to political party.

John Quincy Adams began as a moderate Federalist too and did those things that a politician had to do to remain in the good graces of the democratic masses. As a National Republican, he gained the Presidency in 1824 by what his critics called a "corrupt bargain" with Henry Clay — a union, it was said, of the Puritan and the Blackleg, Blifil and Black George. As President, however, he refused to turn out officeholders who were working against his reelection, and he lost in 1828 in part because of reluctance to bargain with the Anti-Masons.

Charles Francis Adams lost the chance he had for the Liberal Republican

nomination in 1872 by writing a frosty letter claiming that he did not want the nomination, that he would not negotiate for it or give any assurances to anybody, and that he would accept only an "unequivocal call." One of the major planks of the Liberal Republican platform was civil service reform, and increasingly the Adams family showed interest in reforms which would get good men rather than party hacks into office. The reform served an urgent family need — some would say almost a psychological need — among Charles Francis Adams's children.

As the prospects that Henry, Brooks, John Quincy, 2d, or Charles Francis, Junior, would reach the station attained by their grandfather dimmed, the feeling that political parties were corrupt engines for driving mediocrities



and demagogues to office sharpened. Henry learned early that "Truth in politics might be ignored as a delusion." The political process seemed to favor "men whose energies were the greater, the less they wasted on thought; men who sprang from the soil to power; . . . more or less dull in outward appearance." The political unrest of the 1890s made him think "it probably his last chance of standing up for his eighteenth-century principles, strict construction, limited powers, George Washington, John Adams, and the rest." The giants of the era of the Founding Fathers were still available, but America did not call them.

By the 1890s, Henry's brother Charles was, in the words of his biographer, a "patrician at bay." In 1896, he wrote a friend about politics, "I can influence no one. Everyone I could possibly influence . . . thinks as I do, while those who think otherwise regard me as belonging essentially to the 'classes,' and as, therefore, not even entitled to a hearing, much less to any degree of confidence, on the part of what they are pleased to call the 'masses.'" He was at work on the biography of his father at this very time; the volume was shaped by these feelings. The equation of the Court of Saint James with the Chicago post office was all he could see in this father's diary account. It exemplified the forces that made the Adams family feel irrelevant. Isaac Arnold then vanished from the Cabinet room, never to return. Martin Duberman's 1961 biography of Charles Francis Adams repeats the story as Charles, Junior, told it.

Charles Francis Adams took his revenge on Lincoln. In 1873, he delivered a eulogy on William H. Seward before the New York legislature. Adams was still "Seward's man," in a sense, and he still tended to view Lincoln as he had appeared to Seward in the midst of the secession crisis. After that, Adams had left for Europe, not to return until after Lincoln's death; his sparser contact with domestic events in America failed to keep him in touch with Seward's changing viewpoint. Moreover, the inadequacy of his awkward meeting with Lincoln still rankled him.

After a statement that Lincoln "afterward proved himself before the world a pure, brave, honest man, faithful to his arduous task, and laying down his life at the last as a penalty for his country's safety," Adams devoted himself to "strict justice in discriminating between persons." He affirmed "without hesitation that, in the history of our Government down to this hour, no experiment so rash has ever been made as that of elevating to the head of affairs a man with so little previous preparation for his task as Mr. Lincoln." Of foreign affairs "he knew absolutely nothing," and "he was quite deficient in his acquaintance with the character and qualities of public men, or their aptitude for the positions to which he assigned them. Indeed, he never selected them solely by that standard." In fact, Lincoln largely ignored experience and technical qualifications: "It was either partisan service, or geographical position, or the length of the lists of names to commendatory papers, or the size of the salary, or the unblushing pertinacity of personal solicitation, that wrung from him many of his appointments." Seward was Lincoln's superior "in native intellectual power, in extent of acquirement, in breadth of philosophical experience, and in the force of moral discipline." Nevertheless, "Mr. Seward voluntarily dismissed forever the noblest dreams of an ambition" for the Presidency which "he had the clearest right to indulge, in exchange for a more solid power to direct affairs for the benefit of the nation, through the name of another, who should yet appear in all later time to reap the honors due chiefly to his labors."

The notion that Seward was the power behind the throne was not new. John Wilkes Booth, for one, held that theory and therefore included Seward as a victim in his grisly assassination plot. To have that theory come from a source as highly placed as Adams had been, however, was a matter of great significance. Immediately, the surviving members of Lincoln's Cabinet initiated a correspondence among themselves discussing "a general statement correcting the misrepresentations semi-officially put forth at Albany." Salmon Chase, Montgomery Blair, and Gideon Welles thought about making such a statement. Chase, however, died just a month after Adams's address, and Welles felt that the passing of the members of the Cabinet suggested the urgency of a fuller statement of the opposite view while it was still possible to obtain it from eyewitnesses. Late in 1873, Welles published three arti-

cles in answer to the address and published a fuller version in a book, *Lincoln and Seward*, in 1874.

These were the first big volleys in the long war over Lincoln's reputation. The terms of the debate quickly left the era of civil service reform behind, and there was never any great reason to investigate the roots of Adams's dislike. Chroniclers of the Adams family perpetuated the story of the meeting as "Lincolnia" became a field unto itself. The paths of these two great American names hardly ever crossed again.

Still, one need not be acquainted with the *arcana* of the Lincoln field in order to be able to describe the meeting between Adams and Lincoln in a different light. Henry Adams's autobiography contains the clue to the relevance of the Chicago post office. Charles's biography of his father all but invites comparison with the original diary entry. And the "Adams Chronicles" had access to the cooperation of the publishers of the Adams papers, available on microfilm to everyone.

The problem was not lack of zeal for research, necessarily, nor was it protectiveness of the Adams family name. The problem was the medium. Television demands drama, brief situations in which both action and dialogue tell a story of interest. Drama does not lend itself well to explaining the intricacies of patronage policy. In an hour on the subject of the Adams mission to London, television cannot explain that two Chicago newspapers editors vied for the same patronage plum, that one was championed by Seward and the other by Lincoln, that such patronage was customarily the preserve of the local Congressman who had become irate that the choice was removed from his hands, that Seward's influence on Lincoln was rising but had been exhausted by getting Adams rather than Dayton the appointment to England, that Lincoln tried even so to please Seward by giving his man in Chicago a job in England, that this man was inadequate to the task but that Seward could not tell the President so because the appointee was Seward's man, and that therefore the Chicago post office had a vital connection to the Court of Saint James. This is a subject for a book or, perhaps, a lecture; it is not the stuff of television drama. But it is history.

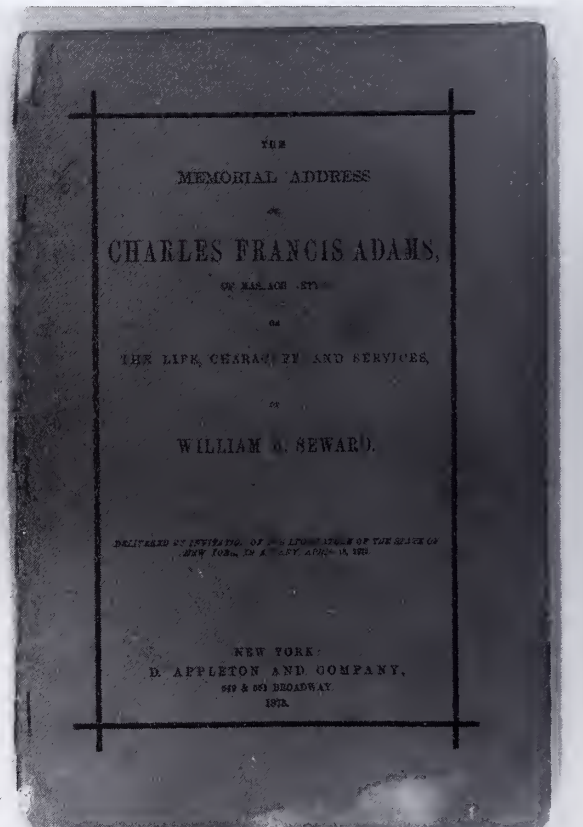


FIGURE 4. Pamphlet version of C. F. Adams's eulogy on Seward.

The Ravage of Rhetoric

By Flora Lewis

DEAUVILLE, France — The first question American visitors ask about France these days is whether things are really as bad as they sound.

The country has become a fine example of the ravage of rhetoric. The recession is truly hurting, all the more because an ecstatic Socialist Government thought when it came to power that it could simply will a new prosperity into existence by government spending and rousing words.

Now, when other economies are beginning to pick up, the French still have to go through the trough of austerity. From supposing that ideology and cleverness were making them better off than others, they've been obliged to see they're going to be worse off for some time to come.

Of course, they will benefit if recovery takes firm hold among other major nations, expanding the level of international trade once again. But there will still be a painful gap in inflation rates, unemployment is expected to continue rising, and investors are chary.

Hard times are enough to cause angry strains. But they are exacerbated by harsh words.

From the moment the Socialists won in the spring of 1981, their opponents began to cry doom and disaster. Having been in power without interruption for over a generation, they had come to consider it their due. Indeed, they did find it a dire deprivation to be ousted.

But they went further, hinting at national collapse, some kind of violent upheaval, "the rending of the social fabric," as some of the well-heeled who shoveled their money abroad took to putting it. They regularly predicted a "hot spring," and then a "hot autumn;" never a "hot summer" though, because the vacation season remains a sacrosanct holiday from politicking. "Le catastrophisme" was in vogue.

What actually happened was a steady decline of the franc, which led to a steady rise in the foreign debt and taxes. New tax increases have just been ordered for 1984. It hurts, but it's not catastrophe.

The Government reacted by matching the verbal bombast of its critics. For well over a year, the "legacy" from previous Governments was blamed for everything that went wrong. A sinister force called "the wall of money" was accused of deliberately subverting the economy in order to make the Socialists look bad, when they believed their self-proclaimed goodness of heart and generosity would otherwise have worked miracles.

After a while, it became undeniable that many of the unmoneyed voters who had decided to give the Socialists

a chance were soured. Local elections drove home the point. Instead of trying to cool tempers, the leaders called the critics names.

Polarization increased, to the point where a local election in Dreux, near Paris, last weekend gave a startling 16.7 percent of votes to the extreme right, long a mere ugly fringe on French politics. The Socialists were down from 45 to 40 percent, enough to lose control of the town.

The central issue was immigrant workers, mostly North Africans. There have been a series of nasty, openly racist incidents involving Arab migrants lately, reflecting the sharpening of latent French hostility by economic discontent and the excesses of political vocabulary at the top.

Even before Dreux, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy wrote a long, plaintive article in *Le Monde* bemoaning the lack of polemical artillery to support the Government in the economic and social argument. Why had the "intellectuals of the left" fallen mute, he asked, as though it were their duty to trumpet sonorous hosannahs whatever the Government did, as though words to cheer him up would be enough to reverse the public's perception of the pinch.

The debate is as depressing as the economy. It's not surprising, though hardly illuminating or encouraging, that the outs continue to blast the Government with what the French call *gros mots* — "fat words." But the Government increases its vulnerability by taking them all in earnest and hurling them back.

A new American film here, "Reuben, Reuben," which isn't about politics at all but about a disreputable poet modeled on the combined biographies of Dylan Thomas and Brendan Behan, is a reminder of how much more effective a weapon is wit. It would serve much better to ease France's plight but neither side has tried it.

Wit got Abraham Lincoln out of a bad corner when Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's alcoholism was causing serious political damage. Lincoln was reported to have said, "You just tell me the brand of whisky Grant drinks; I would like to send a barrel of it to my other generals." Franklin D. Roosevelt used it to bounce out of boxes.

It seems odd that a French Government that prides itself on the intellectual caliber of its members should be so poor in deflecting attack with repartee. The answer no doubt is ideology. It deadens wit as well as the wits to make things work.

In fact, the situation in France is not as bad as it sounds, but more such sounds can make it so. That's true in a lot of places, including the U.S. at a time of international crisis.

NY Times Op-ed Page 9/9/83

The Popularity of Abraham Lincoln In Western Europe

The name "Abraham Lincoln" has always had a revered place in the minds of the people of Western Europe. His image as the symbol of the free man has led to the publication of over 200 Lincoln books and pamphlets in the different languages of Europe (not including English) since 1860.

England

Lincoln's greatest popularity, outside the United States, is of course in England. H. G. Wells, the famous English historian, named Lincoln as one of the six great world figures--the others were Jesus of Nazareth, Buddha, Asoka, Aristotle, Roger Bacon.

Two heroic bronze statues of Lincoln are today located in London (St. Gaudens) and Manchester (Barnard), England. A Lincoln bronze statue by Bissell is located in Edinburgh, Scotland.

In 1959, the Lincoln Sesquicentennial celebration year, a wreath laying ceremony took place on February 12th at the foot of the Lincoln statue in London's Parliament Square. Prime Minister Macmillan, U. S. Ambassador Whitney, and other leaders of Parliament attended and participated in the program which attracted television, newsreel, radio and national press coverage. On the same

date a similar observance was held in Manchester where the Lord Mayor and the U. S. Consul General placed a wreath at Lincoln's statue.

In 1930 and 1933 Dr. Louis A. Warren published two Lincoln Lores entitled "England's Appraisal of Lincoln" and "Lincoln Eulogized In Great Britain". (See copies attached)

During the Lincoln Sesquicentennial year British historian J. R. Pole of London University wrote a 36 page booklet entitled "Abraham Lincoln and the British Working Class", regarding contacts between Lincoln and the British trade union movement. The English Speaking Union enthusiastically agreed to publish the work with an introduction by Mr. Robert Willis, chairman of the Trade Union Congress; 30,000 copies were printed and distributed.

On the evening of February 12, 1959 Ambassador Whitney appeared on the popular "Tonight" program on BBC - TV. He read from John Hay's Civil War Diary and added recollections of his grandfather's association with Lincoln. An estimated 7 million people viewed the program.

One of the major projects of the Lincoln Sesquicentennial year was the locally written and produced exhibit, "Abraham Lincoln, 1809 - 1865." This 1500 square foot exhibit used 35 panels, detailed texts, 133 photos, posters and press releases to tell Lincoln's life story chronologically, highlighting the philosophy of his

thoughts upon the two major issues confronting the United States at that time--slavery and the Union. The exhibit examined Lincoln's relations with Great Britain and the sympathetic response he evoked from British trade union leaders and the workingmen. It was first shown in the Tea Centre, London, on February 12 - 28. Later, the exhibit was moved to the public library in Manchester, to the Newcastle Art Gallery, and, under the sponsorship of the English Speaking Union, on to Scotland where the Ambassador opened the exhibition in Glasgow.

A second exhibit, "Abraham Lincoln's America Today", was photo-copied to meet popular demand, and during the 10-month period it was shown in 25 British cities in art galleries, museums, libraries and civic buildings.

In 1959 England borrowed two additional valuable Lincoln collections. Ambassador Whitney arranged the long term loan of documents, letters, and other Lincoln memorabilia from the Hay-McClelland collection at Brown University. Displayed originally for four weeks in the British Museum, it was then included in the showings of the major exhibit in six cities. The other collection was that of Justin G. Turner of California.

Outstanding English tributes to Lincoln are by John Drinkwater and Lloyd George. Perhaps the finest English Lincoln tribute appeared in the London Spectator

(Circa Civil War):

"If there were an American calendar of saints, Lincoln would probably appear first on the list, and the fact that he was martyred would only be one of the reasons for his position. In Britain the name of Lincoln mentioned in a public meeting would raise a cheer more surely than the name of any other American".

France

(A report on Lincoln interest in France has been incorporated in a separate paper.) The only French tribute to Lincoln, thus far discovered, that has any semblance of being current, is that of Georges Clemenceau:

"We are here (at Springfield, Illinois) like men before one of the greatest men that ever lived, great by thought, great by feeling, and great by action".

West Germany

Since 1860 some 82 Lincoln publications in German have made their appearance. This figure indicates that more Lincoln books have appeared in German than in any other language. In fact, the first Lincoln publication in a foreign language was likely in German.

The statement has been made that "Abraham Lincoln was undoubtedly the most widely known and respected American Statesman."

West Germany today finds much immediate significance in the ideals and problems of freedom and national unity with which Lincoln was so intimately and prominently associated.

Mayor Willy Brandt has probably expressed more sentiments regarding Lincoln than any other prominent German of the present day.

In 1959 West Berlin, Bonn, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Dusseldorf all participated extensively in the observance of Lincoln's birth. American soldiers stationed in Frankfurt built a replica of Lincoln's birthplace cabin (with timber donated by a Tounus mountain village) located in front of the American Cultural Center. It is a permanent exhibit.

In West Berlin in 1959 an actual size replica of the Lincoln birthplace cabin was presented to Mayor Willy Brandt on March 13th to be permanently displayed in the city. The ceremony was attended by many German officials, educators and representatives from cultural institutions. This ceremony received wide publicity.

During the year 1959 the U. S. Embassy and the consulates used letter-sized envelopes which were imprinted with a Lincoln portrait. More than one and one-half

million envelopes were used.

In West Germany in 1959 the USIS in cooperation with the German Society for American Studies sponsored a Lincoln Essay Contest in the high schools.

It is estimated that more than two million West Germans participated in different Lincoln programs in the year 1959.

Belgium

The cultural center of the United States Information Service in Brussels is named "The Lincoln Library." It was dedicated on February 12, 1959, and officials consisted of ambassadors, consuls, U.S.I.S. officers, Belgian officials and cultural personalities. The program included a lecture on "Lincoln and the Quest For Order" by Ernest Samuels, professor of English at Northwestern University. The lecture dealt with revealing the development of Lincoln's character, political stature, and qualities of leadership through an analysis of his speeches, public statements, private notebooks, letters and anecdotes. A special exhibit of Lincolniana was displayed, and a large bust of Lincoln mounted on a specially constructed stand remained on display at the entrance of the library throughout the year.

Italy

Great interest in Lincoln has been manifested by the

Italian people since 1860. This fact is attested by the fifteen books and pamphlets that have appeared in that language.

Beginning on February 12, 1959, a flood of Lincoln material appeared in the Italian press. An incomplete check revealed that 31 daily newspapers carried items on Lincoln and 6 devoted an entire page to the anniversary.

A Lincoln exhibit was displayed at the Rome Cultural Center and newspaper coverage included all of the Rome press and out-of-town papers as far away as Sicily. The exhibit was also publicized by nightly nationwide radio and TV news reports. The Catholic Illustrated Weekly with 100,000 circulation had 4 pages of Lincoln photographs and text, including a color spread in the February 22 issue.

One Lincoln exhibit displayed in Italy showed contemporary Italian interest in Lincoln. The opportunity to link such names as Mazzini and Garibaldi to that of Lincoln established a most important community of interest.

On November 19, 1959 the Anniversary of Lincoln's delivery of the Gettysburg Address was observed. The concluding observance of Italy's Sesquicentennial activities was held on December 10 at the Campidoglio in Rome. Featured speaker was Supreme Court Justice Gaspare Ambrosini, well known throughout Italy for his interest in American affairs, who spoke on the thoughts and works of Lincoln.

Norway

Early in 1959 Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky wrote to all the foreign ambassadors in this country regarding the Lincoln Sesquicentennial program. The replies indicated a deep awareness that freedom-loving people everywhere have for Lincoln's contributions to mankind. A letter from the Ambassador of Norway called attention to the fact that a statue (bust) of Lincoln, given by the State of North Dakota to the people of Norway on July 4, 1914, stands in Frogner Park, Oslo, and that a ceremony at the statue has become a traditional part of their July 4th celebration.

Radio Free Europe

The Lincoln story is being constantly spread by radio to Free Europe. Lincoln birthday programs are sent out over the air-waves each anniversary date. In 1959 a radio adaptation in Hungarian of "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" was broadcast. As a result of Lincoln broadcasts by way of Radio Free Europe, one official was prompted to make the statement that "the name 'Lincoln' is almost as familiar to the schoolboy in Calcutta as it is to the one in Des Moines, Iowa."

Conclusion

A State Department official made the comment that "Abraham Lincoln is the most salable product this country has to offer."

